/151 cont./

648 unusually good conscience. In this case he usually is engaged on a messenger's errand. As a messenger serving the Whites, he may even traverse the territory of a hostile group (always on the highway!), without anything happening to him. This is a concession which the Bushmen make to our superiority.

N. Trade, Money Substitutes, Weights and Measures

•438 Trade between friendly groups or settlements is carried on by a fairly small troupe of men and women (a larger troupe would create the suspicion of hostile intentions) going to the settlement with which they want to trade and first laying aside their weapons. Then they ask for permission to enter the settlement.

[619] If two settlements are hostile to each other, which incidentally seems to be the normal state of affairs, women sometimes nevertheless go to the hostile village to trade. Trade is wholly barter.

Despite their primitive nature, these trade relations are territorially very extensive and are carried out through various intermediaries all the way from the Zambezi to the Orange River. It goes without saying that the Auin himself never goes that far.

It appears that in relation to other Bushman tribes the Auin is quite unproductive. For instance, the Kung manufactures the highly valued and profitable ostrich egg chains, and the Noroon [Naron] makes and trades hide clothing and bone arrow points, whereas the Auin appears to be exclusively an intermediary and in this way gains possession of the coveted objects.

I did not get the impression that the Auin trades goods with the express intention of exchanging them further. Rather, it seems that he first acquires the trade items for his own use and later exchanges them again when the opportunity presents itself.

The chief articles of exchange are: salt (from the Noroon), bow and arrow, points for the throwing spear (Makoba), wooden pots, wooden bowls, wooden spoons (apparently from the Ambo or Owakwanguari by way of the northern Hai//um [Heikum]), European store goods from the Aikwe [Naron] of the Chanse Veld.

Within the settlements the following articles are the chief

/151 cont./

438 objects of exchange: veld food, meat, articles of clothing, and utilitarian objects. It appears that barter is also carried out in a smaller circle. To the "child of the moment," something different is always preferred.

[443] Markets are not held.

The chains of ostrich egg shells have a certain fixed value [435] since they are highly coveted. A leaf [Platte] of tobacco likewise has a fixed value.

/152/ This means that under all circumstances, wherever [436] one goes, both tobacco and chains can be traded. Only in this sense is it possible to speak of money substitutes. I am convinced that with a sufficient number of tobacco leaves [Plattentabak] in one's pocket, and without any provisions, one can live by barter, that is, if the Bushman himself happens to have anything.

The only things that one might not be able to obtain from the Auin in exchange for tobacco are lance points.

The Auin is unacquainted with our custom of indicating 804 length with two fingers of one or both hands. Length is indicated by pointing with one finger to the index finger of the other hand or to a stick.

A "fathom" is indicated by extending both arms, in a manner similar to ours.

As a "dry measure" they use one or both cupped hands, the latter held close together.

Another dry measure is made by crooking the arm and filling the hollow between the arm and chest with a cloth, or both arms are crooked with the hands fastened together in front of the body and the hollow is filled with a cloth.

We also have the saying "an armful."

The hide cap is also used for measuring.

As rough as the measures are, they nonetheless appear to have a certain, though naturally quite inexact validity. I have observed how a Bushman exchanged "an armful" of veld food for tobacco. The owner of the tobacco did not deem the goods he received sufficient, and the other had to add "a handful."

Weights are estimated. Naturally, an object for comparison is always present.

Weights are estimated, as among us, by briefly lifting the weights to be compared, one after the other. Even the accompanying

/152 cont./

415 Mortars and pestles, as well as spoons of wood, are made (see Photo. 18).

[287] Painting and bark working are unknown.

171 The preparation of hides is the same as that practiced by the
281 Hottentot, Herero, Bergdamara, and Betschuana. Hence, I shall dispense with a description of the process.

The women's cosmetic described above is used to dye cloth-
281 ing made of hides. The dye is rubbed on with the ball of the
386 hand and is comparatively waterproof.

To be sure, it is questionable whether this process may be called "dyeing." The hides are already red from the tanning process, and the cosmetic scarcely changes the color. Perhaps it is better regarded as impregnation or greasing.

386 /153/ The colored stones that are pulverized and mixed with
438 fat to make the cosmetic are dug up near Kaitsaub (45 kilometers south of Gobabis) by the Hai//um Bushmen residing there, and they constitute an article of trade. [Fig. 12 appears here.]

283 The beautiful and durable cordage of the Auin is made of the fiber of a wild agave. It looks so neat and clean that one might suspect its origin to have been in a European rope factory rather than in a Bushman settlement.

The cords are made in various strengths and are used for all kinds of purposes, mainly for the game snares.

Their manufacture is very simple and proceeds very rapidly. The leaf is softened by tapping with a wooden stick, and it is then placed on a firm base. One hand holds a pointed stick or a blunt knife firmly on the leaf, while the other hand draws the leaf against the vertically held knife and toward the body. After this has been repeated several times, the strong fibers remain and are then rolled together into cords of the thickness and length desired.

Industrial use of Bushman cordage does not seem impossible to me.

412 As a drill, the lance point or an iron knife is used, frequently red-hot.

325 Only pieces of iron found accidentally are worked. The extraction of iron from ore is unknown.

Charcoal made from the giraffe acacia is the preferred fuel
[372] for ironworking.

[Text continues on page 43]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

animals is either cooked or roasted. Among the tame partly disorganised groups any sort of receptacle such as a paraffin tin serves for cooking purposes. The more primitive groups use clay pots bartered from the neighbouring Bantu. Roasted plant food is eaten whole or in the form of soup or porridge after being pounded up in a wooden mortar or on a stone and mixed with boiled blood.

Food is eaten direct from the pot or from bowls made of wood or the hide of big game. Many groups nowadays make wooden spoons. Generally, however, either the hands or tortoise-shell spoons are used in eating.

Every part of an animal is eaten or made use of for some purpose or another. Nothing is allowed to go to waste except by those groups which, through possessing dogs, find it comparatively easy to kill game. The camps of the latter are generally littered with bones, etc., whereas among the wild Bushmen even the bones are broken up and eaten. In the case of small antelope when for any reason the skin is not suitable for other purposes it is roasted with the animal and eaten. Small skins are used for karosses, food and tobacco pouches, quivers, loincloths, etc. From the skins of big game on the other hand sandals, blankets and, among certain groups, bows, quivers and bowstrings, are made. The */Nu-//ĕin* and *//Aikwe* are more expert in preparing skins than the *‡Ao-//ĕin* and other tribes living to the north. Articles made by the former form an important medium of exchange. The sinew is used for making bowstrings, for reinforcing bows and arrow-shafts, and as thread for sewing skins. From it also is made the string of the nets in which the Kalahari groups carry their belongings. In the Kalahari the foreshaft and tips of arrows are made from the long bones of the ostrich and various kinds of big game. Bones are also made into knives, awls, pipes, etc. The horns are manufactured into spoons, whistles, small quivers for carrying arrow-tips during the rainy season, implements for stripping the fibre required for snares, artificial leeches, etc. The stomach of large animals when not required for food is fashioned into bags for collecting the blood and for carrying water. Ostrich eggshells are used for carrying and storing water and for the manufacture of the eggshell beads which at the present time form the most important article of barter among the */Nu-//ĕin, Kaukau* Bushmen and *Hei-//om*. Among the most northerly groups on the other hand arrow poison and red ochre, obtained from the wood of the *omura* tree, are the principal media of exchange.

Religion.

The purpose and scope of the present report do not permit me to deal at length with the multitudinous magico-religious beliefs and practices with which the lives of all these primitive communities are surrounded.

12: Marshall E-5 (1951-1959) 1961 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

301 431 The most highly valued gifts are the traditional ornaments of ostrich egg-shell beads, especially the wide headbands and necklaces of five or six strings of beads reaching to the umbilicus. The creamy white is becoming to them. They like European beads also, of all colours, though white is definitely their preference. The only thing they do not like about beads, Gao Beard told us, is shortness of the string. After ornaments, the /Kung value implements or utensils, *//gwashi* or dance rattles, which have required time and care to make, but perhaps more especially valued are metal objects and pots. The latter are obtained by trade. The /Kung do not trade among themselves. [438] They consider the procedure undignified and avoid it because it is too likely to stir up bad feelings. They trade with the Bantu, however, in the settlements along the B.P. border. The /Kung offer well-tanned antelope hides and ostrich egg shell beads. 439 For these they obtain tobacco, beads, knives, axes, malleable metal for making arrow-points and spear-blades, and occasional files and chisels, fire-strikers, and pots.

The odds are with the Bantu in the trading. Big, aggressive, and determined to 435 have what they want, they easily intimidate the Bushmen. Several /Kung informants 439 said that they tried not to trade with Herero if it was possible to avoid it because, although the Tswana were hard bargainers, the Herero were worse. /Qui said he had been forced by a Herero whom he was afraid to anger to trade the shirt and pants we had given him as our parting gift in 1952 for a small enamel pan and a little cup. /Ti/kay had more gumption. A Herero at the beginning of a negotiation with him brought out a good-sized pile of tobacco but took from it only a pinch when it was time to pay. /Ti/kay picked up the object he was trading and ran off. ≠Toma said with amused exaggeration that ' a very good Herero, a respectable one, will give a handful of tobacco for five cured steinbok skins. A bad Herero will give a pipeful (he showed the size of his fingernail) for three skins.' The Tswana values are a little better. A well-tanned gemsbok hide brings a pile of tobacco about 14 inches in diameter and about 4 inches high. The values vary. Some that were reported to us were three rooibok, duiker, or steinbok skins for a good-sized knife, five strings of ostrich egg-shell beads for a spear.

439 The /Kung have become dependent on metal, especially knives, axes, and arrow-
[440] points. They have been able to trade enough for every man to have these implements.
[411] They could, however, exist without them and do still use a few bone and wood arrow-points. Poison makes their arrows deadly, not penetrating power. The pots are Ovambo or Okavango pottery (the /Kung make no pottery themselves) or European ironware. The /Kung like to have a pot around to borrow sometimes; not [458] everyone wants to carry one. They cook mostly in hot ashes. More for their novelty, I thought, than for their worth, the /Kung trade also for old oddments of cloth garments (they weave neither cloth nor mats), pieces of blankets, basins, &c.—things they do not really need—but which they like.

276 431 Tobacco they need ' to make the heart feel better '. Oddly enough for these passionate smokers, tobacco was not given so much emphasis in gift-giving as one might expect. They do make gifts of tobacco, but when anyone lights a pipe he passes it around anyway; all present drag smoke into their lungs until they almost faint and it has not mattered much who owned the tobacco.

302 431 Eland fat is a very highly valued gift. An eland provides so much fat that people

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

office is hereditary. His authority is very slight, and apparently exercised mainly in regulating the movements of the people from place to place, and in leading in war.

Each band also acts as a unit in its relations with other bands of the same or of neighbouring tribes, and in such relations it is collectively responsible for the actions of any of its members. When differences arise they are confined to the bands concerned, and not participated in by the rest of the tribe. Occasionally, it is true, a weak band may seek and obtain assistance from a stronger neighbour, but such alliances are never of a binding or permanent nature.[1]

The band is also the land-owning group. Each band possesses its own hunting territory, to which it is restricted, and exercises authority over and specific rights within this territory only.[2] The members of the band roam about freely all over their own land, but do not trespass on their neighbours' territory, although single persons and small parties may occasionally pay short visits across the border, mostly for trading purposes. As a result of this territorial segregation it may often happen that the more widely separated bands of a tribe have no personal knowledge of or direct contact with each other.

There are no special boundary marks between the areas occupied by different hunting bands. The limits of each area are as a rule defined by various natural landmarks, such as sand dunes, koppies, river-beds, vleis, springs, or even trees. These are well known to the people themselves and carefully observed. In some cases the areas of different bands are separated by neutral zones, formed by belts of trees, open flats, watercourses, etc. Nobody will venture into these except during the course of a visit. In particular, however, each hunting territory is defined by the waterholes in it. These constitute the real property of the band. The encampments are always erected near them, all the game on the land around them or drinking at the water may be hunted only by members of the band, and similarly only they may gather "veldkos" (wild vegetable foods) in the vicinity. The infringement of territorial rights in this respect is one of the main causes of dispute between neighbouring bands, and almost invariably leads to bloodshed.

[1] The relations between different bands are discussed more fully below in Chapter VI, s.v. "Relations with Other Bands"; vide p. 155

[2] Trenk, op. cit., 168; Kaufmann, op. cit., 148, 156; Passarge, op. cit., 31–2; Seiner, "Bereisung der Omaheke," 303; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 4; Fourie, "The Bushmen," 85; Lebzelter "Bei den |Kuñ-Buschleuten," *Mitt. anthrop. Ges. Wien*, lix (1928–9), SitzBer. (12).

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
FX13 Hottentot
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177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go [184] out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by [223] barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

438 Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 701; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 152–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

made by themselves, and metal pots, spear heads, knives, trade beads, etc., which they obtain through the Heikum from the OvaKwangari and MaMbukushu further north. The Naron to the east trade their skins, and formerly also ivory and ostrich feathers, with the BaTawana to the north-east for tobacco and millet. Ostrich egg-shell beads are bartered to the Bantu by all the Bushman tribes. The Koon at Naosanabis in the south, a branch of the /nu//en, are known to make them especially well, and their beads are always in great demand, passing through the Naron and the Auen to the Bantu tribes further north and east, who pay highly for them. For a chain of these beads passing round the waist the MaMbukushu, for example, give a large basket of millet, the BaTawana a large roll of tobacco, the OvaMbo an iron spear head, and so on. The Naron also trade their skins to Europeans and BeChwana for tobacco, dagga, or trade goods, and the latter, again, they pass on to the Auen.

The extensive scale on which this trade is carried out would seem to imply the existence of regulated trading communications between the different tribes. Unfortunately, there is extremely little information bearing on this point. Markets are apparently not held, the transfer of goods, as far as can be determined, being effected almost entirely through special trading visits from one group to another. Kaufmann describes the way in which such trading visits are conducted among the Auen. A small number of men and women go to the camp of the band with whom they wish to trade, laying down their weapons beforehand. Permission to enter is then given, and the barter proceeds. He adds that even if two bands are at enmity, as often happens, women will, nevertheless, go from one to the other in order to trade. This statement, however, needs to be confirmed. Passarge also suggests that the Bantu tribes of this region probably send periodical trading caravans to the different Bushman tribes, and quotes as an illustration the fact that in former times at least the OvaMbo would, with the permission of the Bushmen, go on special trading visits to obtain copper in the Otavi district of South-West Africa.

Property and Inheritance

The economic life of the band, although in effect it approaches a sort of communism, is really based on the notion of private property.[1] The only thing owned in common is the land, and even here, as we

[1] Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 155–6; Seydel, "Aus der Namib," 304; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 36, 16; Lebzelter, "Bei den !Kuñ-Buschleuten," 13, 16.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

judge, the head of the band, but in cases of murder, bodily injury resulting in death, and treason the latter is assisted by another man. The judges can invite or summon witnesses, and after coming to a decision announce it in the presence of all the members of the band. Murder is punished by death, the sentence being executed by the relatives of the dead man, who kill his slayer with the kirri or by stoning him; treason is also punished by death, and so, in former times, was adultery, although nowadays the adulterer is merely beaten very severely. Theft, the concealment of stolen property, assaults leading to bodily injury, and offences against morality are punished by thrashing. Attempted crimes as well as aiding and abetting receive the same punishment as the accomplished deed, but self-defence is in no way penalized.

How far this description can be accepted as entirely accurate is difficult to say, since Trenk in discussing the legal usages of these Bushmen makes no mention of such a form of procedure. There is no reason, however, to dismiss it as improbable, since the Nama Hottentots, under whose influence the Namib Bushmen have come to a very large extent, have a more elaborate legal system along the same lines, and the Bushman procedure may well have been imitated from this. There is nothing, as far as our present information goes, to suggest the existence of such an organized procedure in any of the other Bushman tribes.

Relations with Other Bands

Each band, as has been shown, has its own particular hunting territory, and in general the members of the band keep within their own bounds. But people of neighbouring bands do occasionally have relations with one another. Intermarriage, for example, is a rule among the North-Western tribes, where also a newly-married man generally remains for some time with his wife's people before returning with her to his own band. Visits are apparently also frequent between families connected by marriage, and in any case, as we have seen, a woman always goes back to her parents' home for her first confinement. Trading visits, again, are often undertaken from one band to another, while under special circumstances we may also find the members of several different bands assembled together for a while. It has already been mentioned, for instance, how an outbreak of rinderpest resulting in the death of many cattle drew together